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Competition Essay
for a Thousand Guinea Prize.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION
AND
COMMERCIAL UNION OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE:

COMPRISED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
BRITISH INDIA, AND ALL THE BRITISH COLONIES
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND COMMERCIAL UNION
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THE above subject has exercised the minds of leading men for the past twenty years, the writer having frequently written and lectured upon it during that period.

Speaking in round numbers, there are about 380,000,000 of people at present living under the sway of the British Empire—that is to say, 40,000,000 at home in the United Kingdom, 5,000,000 in the Dominion of Canada, 5,000,000 in the Australasian and Cape Colonies, and 330,000,000 under the British rule in India and various Protectorates, and minor colonies. Of the above populations, about 50,000,000 are British, at home and abroad, and which may be called the dominant ruling race of the Empire. These latter will, in common course, double their numbers in 50 years.

The government of the world is developing into systems of great Federal Empires, composed of various nationalities, often, but not always, of kindred peoples. The science of governing successfully in these systems will be to secure freedom, equality, and identity to all within the Imperial circles, so that there may be a maximum scope for local, national, and individual enterprise and progress, with a minimum of state interference and restraint for Imperial purposes. Unity is strength, provided that unity is of such a nature that there is cohesion of parts.

We need apprehend no danger whatever to the United Kingdom, nor to the union of the Empire generally, by granting local parliaments within federal union based upon well known principles of unity and of popular representative government ; in fact, the one condition necessitates the other. If Imperial Federation has become a necessity, local division of legislative labour is also a local necessity within the great governing circle. But there should be no ambiguity nor doubt as to the connecting principles of the union, especially in regard to Great Britain and Ireland, whose relations are closer and somewhat different to that of the Colonies.

As to the necessity of Imperial Federation ; it is obvious from the natural order of things, viewed in the light of historical events touching

the rise and fall of nations and systems of government, that the perpetuation and development of the British Empire, with the strength and growth of the Colonies, the peace of the world, revival of trade upon a sound and comprehensive basis, the prosperity and contentment of the people at home and abroad, depend now upon a federal, legislative, and commercial union of the mother country and her colonies.

All other questions and considerations sink into insignificance beside this grand life-giving system to revive the languishing energies of a great people, scattered world wide, and occasionally dispirited and alarmed through misunderstandings and blundering politics, disturbed relations, and consequent bad trade, with distress and misery among the people at home, and nothing offered to them in the way of hope in the future, excepting the revolting doctrines of socialism, of plunder, and beggar your neighbours.

The public pulse is throbbing upon this subject, and the great heart of John Bull is beating in sympathy with the wants of his children, and he knows not what is best to do for them. They will naturally cling to those whom they think are in sympathy with them. There are two great political courses open to the people of this country; the issues are life and death according to the course adopted. First as to the issues of life, on the one hand. The materials for Imperial Federal Empire have, for a long time and on an extensive scale, been shaping and preparing, like the building of Solomon's Temple, and it now requires but the master hand to put all things together, silently and swiftly, to lay hold of the disjointed masses and place them stone to stone, beam to beam, until this conglomeration of interests is erected into a great world wide imperial edifice of popular constitutional empire; expanding, absorbing, and enlightening the world, as England, the great heart and centre, radiates her enlightened population to the furthestmost bounds of the great family circle, brought near together by the operations of science and art, recognised and welded into a common brotherhood by ties of kinship and trade and equality of political rights. This great empire of free and enlightened people will then stand against the world as God's Kingdom upon earth, to the honour of God, the glory of kingdoms, the envy of nations, the peace and prosperity of all within its dominions.

Other nations could be admitted to certain benefits of the Imperial Federation as they assimilated their laws and customs to ours, and thus would be laid the basis of a universal empire of peace. The moral and material effect for peace and good will upon other countries would be great, by presenting such a large proportion of the inhabitants of the world in our statistical reports in one united popular government, facilitating the arrangements of tariffs, trade, and commerce with all parts of the Empire, and establishing extensive, popular, and easy means of emigration. These are some of the Imperial concerns now pressing for attention, and, if not satisfactorily settled, must lead, on the other hand, to the issues of death or national decay, viz. :—An old country, small in its natural boundaries, crowded with population in all stages of idleness, want, and starvation; subject to strikes and discontent, with burdensome laws and heavy taxation; apprehensions of failing trade; catching at political straws, unscrupulous politicians; abandonment of principles to vain expediency; contempt for law and

authority ; organised rebellion ; separation of colonies ; contempt of nations ; overthrow of nobility and majesty ; civil wars ; plunders by lawless hungry multitudes ;—the end of national greatness.

In the one view there is a strong united Christian Empire, dominating for good the politics and trade of the world, with extension and improvement of commercial relations and trade and political influence, established upon a popular and firm basis by an imperial and commercial federal compact. On the other hand, in the other view is an unwieldy disjointed empire, without concert of action, whose diverging interests would sometimes lead to antagonism, when the colonies would be discontented and quarrel, and become a prey to all nations for plunder, destroying all settled prospects for the people.

Let us now consider this vast and important project under two heads, the imperial political and the commercial aspects, and see what constitutional and practical basis can be found whereon to erect this modern colossal empire, in accordance with the soundest and most successful methods of enlightened popular government ; so that, being grounded and established upon broad popular principles of freedom and justice, internal growth and progress will serve to bind firmer the branches and strike deeper the roots of this Federal Empire ; and so, whilst progressing safely upon the lines of eternal principles of equity and justice, working out the problems of individual and national life, pressing forward to the goal of human perfection, a successful resistance may be given to the external shocks of decaying and exploding systems.

FIRST : THE POLITICAL IMPERIAL ORGANISATION.

The head of our political system of constitutional government, as it now exists in the crowned monarch, has been amply proved to be efficient and glorious, a most fitting head, and grand completion to our ancient and noble system of government, which, by the grace of God, we pray may long continue.

We next come to the second estate in the imperial edifice, the House of Lords. As a revising governing body, the House of Lords, being a highly educated class, instructed in historical matters and the arts of government, and being considerably replenished in every generation from the ranks of the people, through high merit and noble attainments qualifying them for the high position, are eminently fitted to fulfil the functions of legislation in the Upper House.

Therefore, to give colonial representation in both houses of the Imperial Parliament, there should be men elected in the colonies for Royal approval, to sit in the House of Lords. The Royal prerogative to be so exercised that, whilst admitting the popular representative, there shall be nothing derogatory to the noble estate and traditions of the House. The number of Colonial Peers to be elected on a territorial basis, say one for each province or self-governing colony ; thus from the Dominion of Canada there would be as many Peers as there are Provinces in the Dominion. The same rule to apply to the Australasian Colonies, also in Africa and other self-governing colonies and groups, British India also to be represented by territorial Lords in the same manner.

Each Colonial Peer representative shall be elected by the people's representatives from amongst their own number in local parliament assembled in each Province, and the vacancy so made shall be filled up by re-election of another member from the constituency within one month after the Royal assent has been signified to the election of the Peer. The Peer so created shall be paid by the Province sending him £2,000 sterling per annum. The style of his title, unless he holds in his own right a higher title, shall be Lord of the Province which he represents. For instance, a Peer from Ontario would be Lord Ontario; from Nova Scotia, Lord Nova Scotia; and from Queensland, Lord Queensland, &c. He shall be a man of property in his Province, to the extent of twenty thousand dollars; he shall be elected for life, but the title shall not be hereditary in his family; it shall not descend to his son unless the son be duly elected for the position. It shall be a political title, and only for life; but if the Sovereign chooses to confer upon such person a separate peerage or title for distinguished services, there shall be no bar to such or any promotion.

The third estate in the imperial edifice is the Commons, and their representatives sitting in London shall be styled the Imperial Parliament. Each Province or self-governing Colony shall send one representative to the Imperial Parliament. He shall be elected by the people, so that imperial concerns may be discussed and understood by the people throughout the Empire.

Each Province shall pay their Imperial representative at the rate of £1,000 a year, which shall cover all his expenses, excepting his election expenses, which, being a large and popular poll, shall be paid one-half by the Province and one-half by the candidates. But no expenses shall be allowed for canvassing, or conveying electors to the poll. The expenses shall be restricted to the necessary addresses, advertisements, and placards, halls and platforms for public discussions, and the official routine expenses of such elections. Each large territorial district of British India shall also be represented in the House of Lords and Imperial Parliament in the aforesaid manner, or in some other popular representative way for Imperial purposes.

Now, having constituted the Imperial authorities of a Federal Union of the Empire, the local authorities, their modes and procedures need not be interfered with, but leaving them to their local aspirations and the spirit of the times to work out their own improvements.

In following up Imperial concerns and procedures, it will be unnecessary to continue the office of High Commissioner from any of the Colonies, seeing that they will all have direct representation in London. The office of Colonial Secretary should be kept on in a modified form only, as a convenient channel of communication. This office has become autocratic and anomalous in our system of popular government in our great Colonies; it is unsafe. The great offices of state and seals of office to be entrusted and held as at present. The Vice-Regal establishment in Ireland to be abolished, the Sovereign to hold court there occasionally. Draw closer the bonds of union and brotherhood in constitutional means. Let Royalty live within the touch and direct intercourse of the Emerald Isle, which, in turn, would reflect the Royal effulgence, shining as a bright jewel in the Royal diadem.

The colonies have never yet attained to a voice in the Imperial Parliament; it has ever been their ambition and desire to do so. Had it been done in 1773 there would have been no revolt of the United States from the mother country. Let that be done now, and give representation to the imperial interests of the whole Empire.

All matters of general and imperial interests, fiscal duties, treaties, foreign relations, peace and war, would devolve upon the Imperial Parliament and Lords; also the control of the finances relating to the army and navy and auxilliary forces, the colonial and consular services, and whatever shall appertain to the imperial welfare, including the maintenance of the Crown; for which they shall produce estimates and have power to raise money from their respective peoples in such manner as shall be deemed most equitable and convenient by the Imperial Parliament. The army, navy and consular services being necessary for protection and benefit of all, should be maintained at the expense of all, somewhat in the following proportions:—The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland possessing the honour and dignity of the Crown in location, and the patronages arising from the Royal establishments, should pay first, one-half the cost, and the remaining half to be paid by the whole Empire, including the United Kingdom, in proportion to their wealth, protection, and also representation in the Imperial Parliament. It may be said that this system would leave the bulk of the burden to be borne by the United Kingdom, which is quite true, and must necessarily be so. At the same time it would impose a sensible contribution upon the Colonies and India quite as much as they would at present be willing to bear. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the Royal establishments in this country are centres of a great deal of wealth and employment.

For instance, when a battle-ship is built, the whole cost is produced and expended in this country, and it is only when she goes into service that the colonies may derive a benefit, and for that they should contribute, each in proportion to the wealth and commerce protected, which, taken together with their proportion of representation in the Imperial Parliament, forms a sound and equitable basis of measured and recognised responsibilities; the Crown should then have an additional grant and title to confirm and embrace the new order of things. The following would be appropriate:—“Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and Imperial Sovereign of the British and Colonial Empire.” The latter part of the title is requisite in order to remove the isolated signification of the term “Colonial” in respect to those countries which would have direct representation in the Imperial Parliament, and solidify the extended relations of the Empire.

With these brief arguments and outlines for a Federation of this great British, Indian, and Colonial Empire, and with the Imperial political aspects, requirements, and interests before us, we now come to the particular interests, and practicability of the union from a commercial standpoint. Commercial treaties, tariffs and taxes for all Imperial purposes, are matters for the combined wisdom of the Imperial Parliament, which would have local and practical knowledge from the various parts of the Empire. But as our leading men of both parties seem to tread so cautiously and gingerly around the

subject, in evident fear of stepping upon the eggs of free-traders, who have been brooding long after the appointed time of incubation, it is high time to draw our own brood and count our chickens, or they may run from us wild.

It would be well to have a standing committee of the Imperial Parliament, composed of the members from the various colonies and India, with an equal number of able representatives of the United Kingdom, to consider and prepare plans and schedules of trade, treaties, tariffs and regulations, to be submitted to Parliament for approval and legislation.

The overwhelming preponderance of members representing the United Kingdom, would always hold the balance of voting power in both houses of the Imperial Parliament, and so be a guarantee against any sudden and violent changes of policy which might be considered prejudicial to the interests of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, which must always be held as of paramount importance. The Colonial Conference, called at the instance of the Canadian Government, and held at Ottawa in June-July, 1894, when representatives from all the large colonies, and the Imperial Government, discussed matters of trade, mail service, and other concerns of Imperial and colonial policy, and to give effect to their views and labours, passed certain resolutions, all of which is an earnest and splendid evidence of the great desire on the part of the colonies to bind closer the ties of relationship and trade, and, in short, find a way to bring about Imperial Federation.

The Colonial Conference at Ottawa was such an important event, and practical step towards federation, that the composition of it may here be stated, and the opinions and data supplied in the discussions may be cited as authoritative and useful.

NAMES OF DELEGATES.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT—The Rt. Hon. Earl of Jersey, P.C., G.C.M.G.

CANADA—Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, P.C., President.

Sir Adolph Caron, P.C., K.C.M.G.

Hon. George E. Foster, P.C., L.L.D.

Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.G.

NEW SOUTH WALES—Hon. F. B. Suttor, M.L.A.

TASMANIA—Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald, M.L.C.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—Hon. Sir Henry de Villiers, K.C.M.G.

Sir Charles Mills, K.C., M.G.C.B.

Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA—Hon. Thomas Playford.

NEW ZEALAND—Lee Smith, Esq.

VICTORIA—Sir Henry Wrixon, K.C., M.G.Q.C.

Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald, M.L.C.

Hon. Simon Fraser, M.L.C.

QUEENSLAND—Hon. A. J. Thynne, M.L.C.

Hon. William Forrest, M.L.C.

There was also a Mr. Davies representing Hawaiian interests, chiefly respecting the cable and mail service.

Hear what they say by their resolutions passed after full discussions, in respect to trade ; see page 67 of Colonial Conference : Moved by Sir Henry Wrixon, of Victoria ; seconded by Hon. F. B. Suttor,

of New South Wales, and carried :—"That provision should be made by imperial legislation enabling the dependencies of the Empire to enter into agreements of commercial reciprocity, including power of making differential tariff with Great Britain, or with one another." Again on page 168, Hon. Mr. Suttor moved an amendment to certain kindred resolutions, which having been withdrawn, the Suttor amendment became a resolution, and after discussion was adopted on page 172. The amended motion is as follows :—"That this Conference is of opinion that any provisions in existing treaties between Great Britain and any foreign power, which prevent the self-governing dependencies of the Empire from entering into agreements of commercial reciprocity with each other or with Great Britain, should be removed." Again on page 200 : Hon. Mr. Foster moved a resolution in four parts, which after a very lengthy discussion was slightly altered, on page 230, and finally carried, see page 251, in the following form :—"Whereas the stability and progress of the "British Empire can be best assured by drawing continually closer the bands which unite the colonies with the mother country, and by the continuous growth of a practical sympathy and co-operation in all that pertains to the common welfare ; and whereas this co-operation and unity can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the cultivation and extension of the mutual and profitable interchange of their products ;

Therefore resolved :—"That this Conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies, by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries.

And further resolved :—"That until the mother country can see her way to enter into such an arrangement, it is desirable that, when empowered so to do, the colonies of Great Britain, or such of them as may be disposed to accede to this view, take steps to place each other's products, in whole or in part, on a more favourable customs basis than is accorded to the like products of the foreign countries."

Thus, in the foregoing series of resolutions, we see upon what basis the colonies are prepared to co-operate in the departments of trade, with a view to mutual benefits and to consolidate imperial interests.

It would be a dereliction of duty, little short of delinquency, on the part of the mother country to delay longer making an effort to carry into effect the loyal, ennobling, and sustaining aspirations to national life and unity in the imperial circle. The resolutions advise reciprocal trade within the Federal Union, with a measure of protective tariffs upon foreign goods ; and yet, recognising the difficulty in which the United Kingdom would be placed by interfering with her free trade policy, they are prepared to differentiate in her favour, as with one another, according to their several necessities.

Therefore, it would seem that absolute free trade, though it may be the goal to be aimed at within the imperial circle, is hardly practicable in the initial stages of federal life, but must be worked out and arrived at by practical experience. And to this end, a committee of trade, as provided for in this federal scheme, will be an invaluable means of co-operation—assuming that free trade is a true and progressive

principle of political economy and enlightenment which ought to be adopted by all nations.

First, then, let us say : That the ultimate object to be aimed at is free trade amongst all within the Imperial Federation. Secondly : That duties should be levied upon all goods imported into any part of the federal union from all countries not in the union.

With our great food producing countries in the federation, the mother country would be perfectly safe in supplies, which is the first consideration at home, because it is the secured position of independence. And this would also secure to the British factories and industries a free trade to all under the British flag, the world wide, which is not the case now.

Foreign countries could then be allowed to have free trade with us in the federation in proportion as they lowered and abolished their duties on our goods and products. This system would cause the whole world to become free traders, as they ought to be, much quicker than the one-sided game that is now being played against us. In the meantime, we shall have gathered duties enough from them, probably to pay off our national debt, while the colonies would also be benefited.

Seeing, then, that the goal of commercial federation is not to be attained all at once in the first instance of federal life, but is beset with difficulties common to all schemes where expediency has to play a part, until there is a practical development of the governing principles and objects aimed at, there are still common interests and grounds sufficient to make a start with, upon equitable terms which have yet to be stated. And for the above purpose, it may be useful to glance at some figures showing the actual state of trade between the United Kingdom and the Colonies, including India on the one hand, and foreign countries on the other.

On page 213 of the "Colonial Conference," it is stated on high authority that the total imports in 1892 were, in round numbers, £424,000,000, of which was foreign £326,000,000, British Colonies £98,000,000. The total exports were £291,000,000, the foreign £210,000,000, British possessions £81,000,000.

The proportions of imports are a little less than a quarter from British possessions, and little less than a third as to exports. These are potent figures, showing that, as far as the mother country is concerned, the bulk of her trade being yet with foreign countries, she must be cautious in any changes of trade relations.

This view is very clearly expressed by the Hon. Mr. Forrest, representative of Queensland at the Colonial Conference, page 171. He said, "It seems to me, however, that the discussion would have been more appropriate had the question been that of commercial union between England and her colonies, and protection against the rest of the world. I would have voted for this form ; but at the same time I would say we would be premature in asking England to immediately interfere with existing principles. . . . And, gentlemen, the foreign trade of England is of the vastest importance to Australia. I look upon England as the great agent for receiving our raw material and distributing it, after manufacturing, throughout the world. It would be impossible for us to distribute our products without the assistance of England. I say again, if we do affirm a principle of

commercial union, I would recommend that we hasten slowly, because we are not prepared, &c."

On the other hand, the Hon. Simon Fraser, from Victoria, spoke as follows, on page 53:—"I would fondly look forward to the day when the colonies, including Australia, could have one customs tariff. . . . I think it would be one of the wisest steps that we in Australia could take, if we could receive the goods of Canada and the Cape free, and vice versa . . . and I can hardly see where the conflicting interests with Great Britain would come in."

These views from Australia show that, while they keenly desire free trade or reciprocity within the Imperial circle, they recognise the unique position of the mother country, and are prepared to subordinate their action to the Imperial interests as a whole, which is a most excellent sentiment, and makes federation easy.

The Canadian representatives appear a trifle stiffer in their views of protection and self interests, still a most excellent spirit prevailed throughout, with an evident desire to arrive at best solutions of the questions before them.

In discussing the practicability of arranging customs tariffs, the Hon. Mr. Foster, page 253, remarked as follows:—"We can easily make up a list of our products which we think we can advantageously send into the different colonies. By having this conference with each colony, we can compare lists, and we can come to a pretty good practical conclusion as to what the subjects of the negotiations might be based upon."

The Marquis of Lorne's book furnishes the following very useful statements:—

	Population 1883.	Revenue 1883.	Expenditure 1883.	Debt 1883.
		£	£	£
Canada	4,500,000	7,667,400	8,937,800	33,013,900
N.S. Wales 1882...	800,000	7,410,700	6,347,800	18,721,200
Victoria	931,800	5,611,300	5,651,900	26,132,300
N. Zealand	540,900	3,871,300	3,924,000	31,385,400
Tasmania	126,200	562,200	533,000	2,385,600
S. Australia	304,500	2,060,100	2,330,100	13,891,900
W. Australia	31,700	284,360	240,570	607,800
Queensland	287,500	2,583,500	2,242,800	14,917,800
Cape of Good Hope	1,250,000	5,443,500	6,341,700	20,811,000
Totals	8,772,400	35,494,360	36,549,670	161,866,900

	Total Imports '83.	From Gt. Britain.	Customs Rev. '83.	Per centage Duties on total Imports, less Bullion.
	£	£	£	
Canada	27,552,900	10,844,300	4,793,662	18
N.S. Wales	21,281,100	11,155,900	1,545,946	8
Victoria	17,743,900	8,710,300	1,832,792	11
S. Australia	6,310,000	3,492,300	618,871	10
Queensland	6,223,300	2,771,600	798,992	13
W. Australia	516,900	231,300	119,685	23
N. Zealand	7,974,000	5,241,900	1,411,495	18
Tasmania	1,832,600	631,300	297,175	16
Cape of Good Hope	6,681,000	4,899,400	1,105,443	17
£	96,115,700	47,978,300	12,524,061	

The second table is most useful, and particularly the last column showing the per centage of duties required for revenue.

The following statistics are gathered from various sources, and will be useful in a work of this kind. The data for India and Canada are for 1892.

United Kingdom and Colonies, &c.	Population according to the most recent Census, including that of 1891	Imports 1890.	Exports 1890.
UNITED KINGDOM, 1889-91	37,740,283	£ 420,885,695	£ 263,542,500
NOTE.—Production Coal 1889, 177,000,000 tons " Pig Iron " 8,322,000 " Income assessed to Income Tax £645,159,000			
EUROPE :		(For 1889-90.)	(For 1889-90.)
Gibraltar, Malta, and Gozo	186,880	24,287,112	23,627,082
ASIA :			
India (Brit.) incl. Upper Burmah Feudatory States, 1892	284,837,210	84,155,045	111,460,277
Ceylon	2,850,000	4,172,790	3,226,059
Straits Settlements	506,000	23,429,859	19,982,892
Hong Kong	200,990	2,171,286	1,129,190
Aden	34,711	2,521,963	2,096,644
Labuan	5,298	62,363	66,689
Protectorate	1,112,000		
AFRICA :			
Cape Colony	1,525,739	10,841,454	9,829,900
Bechuanaland	44,135		
Natal	442,697	4,527,015	1,657,318
Basutoland	180,000		160,000
Gambia	14,150	140,818	167,599
Gold Coast	1,406,000	440,868	415,926

United Kingdom and Colonies, &c.	Population according to the most recent Census, including that of 1891.	Imports 1890	Exports 1890.
<i>AFRICA (continued):</i>			
Lagos.....	67,165	£ 464,260	£ 457,649
Sierra Leone	60,546	277,781	319,719
Mauritius	361,404	1,073,328	2,255,434
Ascension Island	200	2,809	125
Protectorates, Niger, &c.	35,000,000		
<i>AMERICA :</i>			
Canada, 1892	4,450,000	26,179,329	23,417,132
Newfoundland and Labrador.....	197,335	1,376,471	1,231,769
Bahamas	43,521	175,516	130,512
Barbadoes	173,522	1,211,370	1,029,588
Bermudas	15,347	64,976	272,602
Jamaica and Turk's Island	585,582	1,597,600	1,614,824
Trinidad	199,784	2,093,932	2,308,832
Leeward Islands	122,769	428,997	689,752
Windward Islands	137,422	476,936	521,658
Honduras	27,452	260,089	300,879
British Guiana		1,803,776	2,310,141
Falkland Islands	1,800	55,716	116,102
<i>AUSTRALASIA :</i>			
Victoria	1,137,272	24,402,760	12,734,734
N.S. Wales and Norfolk Islands	1,001,966	22,863,057	23,294,934
S. Australia	312,758	6,804,451	7,259,365
W. Australia.....	39,584	818,127	761,391
Queensland	322,853	6,025,562	7,736,309
Tasmania	137,211	1,611,035	1,459,857
New Zealand.....	589,386	6,297,097	9,339,265
Fiji and Rotumah Islands	126,010	189,393	364,282

The foregoing list of forty colonies, besides India, comprises the principal Colonies and Estates of the Empire. Undoubtedly there would be a considerable increase in the above figures if brought down to the end of 1894, which can easily be imagined; but for all practical and comparative purposes in this essay, they will answer as they are, and serve to show at a glance the magnitude of the British Empire, with its vast populations and trade, and which are ever increasing.

These figures show that the total trade of the Australasian Colonies is more than double that of the Dominion of Canada. Also the total trade of India is nearly double that of Australasia and four times that of Canada. The Cape Colonies trade is about half that of Canada.

Lord Jersey stated in the Colonial Conference, page 213, that in 1891 the trade between Great Britain and her possessions, including India, was 22.84 per cent. on the whole as regards imports, and

30.20 as regards exports. By this method a more easy grasp and conception of the volume of trade between the United Kingdom and colonies compared with rest of the world is arrived at and retained in the mind, than can be done by looking at stray figures ; and by having facts concisely before us we are better enabled to arrive at an equitable basis of commercial union.

It may here be pointed out that a portion of the imports and exports of Australasia are intercolonial, while the same does not occur in the Canadian figures. Also that Canada has a large trade with her opulent neighbour, which in the event of Imperial Federation would be largely diverted to trade within the imperial Union, and the figures representing Canadian trade augmented accordingly.

Accounts of Canadian finances just published for the year ending June last, state that the revenue is \$33,929,809, and the expenditure \$38,009,341.

Having glanced at the views of colonial statesmen and their resolutions, respecting commercial union, and having gathered some data of imports and exports and existing tariffs, we now come fairly to the question of what general lines of policy can be laid down as a basis of customs tariff, applicable alike to the mother country and the other portions of the Empire, and what "quid pro quo," should be given where the customs would bear unequally.

First, take the question of imports, what does England require? She requires to have the raw materials and products of the world brought to her as cheaply as possible, as to a great workshop, where her teeming millions of workmen can find employment in handling it, and working it up into manufactured articles for exporting as well as for home consumption. Now what is it that the Colonies and India have to send to England? It is chiefly their raw products. Then, if we say, "Let the raw products of the earth be free of tariffs to all within the Imperial circle," we shall uphold a grand principal which would benefit the mother country and all alike. But it is the Imperial circle that is first to be considered, true, and England would take all their products free, they in turn would take her coals and pig iron, about the only raw products that she has free. The Colonies might say that in this arrangement they would have no advantage over the foreigner, who would also get his raw products into the United Kingdom free. It is true that all the world would be equal in the markets of the Imperial circle in their raw products. This is what England most requires, and is what the Colonies and India are best able to compete in, therefore in that they can afford to throw open one door and pursue one line of common policy with the mother country upon the principal of free trade.

We now turn our attention to manufactured goods and articles, which brings us face to face with the skilled workmen and social problems of labour in this country. Our Continental neighbours and the United States flood the English markets with their cheap goods, some of which are bounty fed and prison made, and so, under our "no tariff" system, they export their labour, and we import it by receiving foreign manufactured goods into this country free, damaging our own industries, and by thus crippling British industries at home, foreigners are enabled more successfully to compete in all markets

abroad. At the same time they shut up their own markets from the British by restricted tariffs, so the British workman has no fair competition at home nor abroad. It is obvious that with bare fists we cannot successfully fight a scientific opponent who has weapons. We may argue that he is cowardly, that ours is the most manly exercise, that it is a wrong thing to use weapons, that man to man is the righteous and noble way to compete in battle, as undoubtedly it is, yet nevertheless, if those cowardly wicked neighbours persist in assailing us with guns and swords, we must, on the most humane principles, use sufficient armour to resist their destructive operations. The point is this, and it is well worth the consideration at this period, that however superior we may be to our opponents, there is such a thing as giving away too many points in the contest and so place ourselves at too great a disadvantage to have any fair chance of success. There is a time when patience ceases to be a virtue, when duty and honour demand justice and fair dealing with suffering people. We have propounded a noble theory of free trade, we have followed its principles for fifty years, practising and preaching it as the gospel of trade, hoping that the world would follow us in the principle; but the world has laughed and mocked us, and imposed tariffs upon us while taking the benefit of our open markets, to the disadvantage of our own people. We still believe in the principle of free trade, we have never had it with the world, therefore we now create a world of our own and endeavour to carry out in a reasonable practical manner, our free trade amongst ourselves, in our own world of Imperial Federation against the foreign protection world.

It is stated that in 1893 we imported from France goods to the value of £45,658,099, and exported to that country goods to the value of £13,365,444. As France is eminently a manufacturing country, with very few raw products to send us, it obvious that the preponderance of trade from that country is injurious to our home industries. And even the wines and spirits that they send us, may now, to a large extent, be supplied by our own Colonies. The same may be said in respect to the imports which we have from Germany and some other Continental nations. In speaking of wines at the Colonial Conference, it is stated on page 316, that the production of South Australia is 160 gallons per acre, 237 gallons per acre in New South Wales, and 247 gallons in Queensland; Victoria also having a large production, and the Cape 220 gallons per acre. In France the average production per acre of wine is set down at 133 gallons, Algeria 300 gallons; and, therefore, Australia ought to be able with her wines to beat France or any other country. In wool and mutton they have beaten the world. Excellent brandy is also made from the Australian grapes. Also butter, cheese, canned fruits, and many other manufactured articles which we require, they can produce in great abundance.

Seeing that there is within the Imperial circle such an enormous capacity for the production of manufactured articles of food, it will be to the advantage of all to develop those resources, and the duty of the mother country to give the colonies a "quid pro quo" for their acquiescence in free trade with all the world, to suit England in the question of raw materials.

It would be well to define here what shall be treated as raw, and

what manufactured. Speaking generally, every article shall be considered manufactured which comes from factories, or is produced by skilled labour and art, to manipulate or preserve it, or enhance its value for use and marketable purposes. But that which comes from the earth, field, forest or sea, in its natural state, with no more labour or art expended upon it than is necessary to produce and convey it, shall be considered raw. For instance, corn, grain of all kinds, not ground, is raw, but flour is manufactured. Live animals of all kinds are raw, frozen meat is raw; but bacon, hams, salted meat in casks and packages, all canned and cured meats and fruits are manufactured. Poultry, apples, oranges, bananas, grapes, onions, and eggs, are raw; cream, butter, and cheese, are manufactured. Hides, dried or salted, wool, timber, pig iron and coals are raw; but wood that is sawn fine, and planed for special purposes, is manufactured; such as grooved and tongued ceiling boards and flooring stuff, whatever article a tool has been used upon, other than the axe and mill-saw, is manufactured.

Having pointed out the principle upon which the manufactured shall be distinguished from the raw, with sufficient examples as a guide, we will now endeavour to find an equitable mode of tariff. We have seen that the English markets are flooded with foreign manufactured goods, to the serious damage of our skilled labour and manufacturing existence. Therefore, put a tariff on all foreign manufactured goods imported into any part of the Imperial circle; say, 10 per cent. *ad-valorem*, over and above whatever the tariff may be upon goods manufactured and traded within the Imperial circle. The colonies require tariffs for revenue purposes. The Marquis of Lorne's tables show an average of about 15 per cent. on their imports, some colonies more and some less. Suppose that was lowered to 10 per cent. or less on all goods manufactured and traded within the Imperial Federation, the United Kingdom admitting goods manufactured in India and the colonies free, as a "quid pro quo" for their acquiescence in England's free trade in the raw with all the world. The mother country would thus preserve her free trade policy in the raw with all the world, and free trade in manufactured goods with all within the Imperial circle, but a tariff of 10 per cent. on all manufactured goods from foreign countries. With the tariff in the colonies and India at 20 per cent. against the foreigner; and supposing that foreign goods under this tariff were imported into these parts to the extent of one-fourth, say, 20 per cent. on one-fourth, and 10 per cent. on three-fourths, would give about 15 per cent. upon the whole as at present for their revenues. The question of tariffs would then stand thus: The Federal circle of the United Kingdom and all the colonies including India, would have free trade in raw products with all the world, as a general principle of trade. A Federal tariff not exceeding 10 per cent. on British and colonial manufactured goods, and 20 per cent. on "*foreign*" manufactured goods imported into the colonies and India.

The mother country would have free trade in the raw with all the world as at present, and would receive manufactured goods free from all countries within the Federal Union, but a tariff of 10 per cent. upon all manufactured goods from countries outside the union. Thus the mother country could provide at the lowest cost raw material for

manufacturing purposes, for home consumption, and for exportation to all the world. England would continue to be the great receiver, manufacturer, and distributor. The colonies would have free access to the British markets with their products, both raw and manufactured, and would be protected in the British market against foreign manufactured goods to the extent of 10 per cent. Thus the colonies would be allowed a tariff of 10 per cent., possibly less, for revenue purposes, upon goods manufactured and traded within the Imperial circle. At the same time there would be a tariff of 20 per cent. on all manufactured goods imported from foreign countries into any part of the Imperial circle, excepting the United Kingdom, which would be 10 per cent. against foreign manufactured goods only. This system would revive and encourage home factories and industries, and give employment to the people. At the same time, the colonies and India would also benefit by the tariff upon manufactured goods. They would have a preferential position in British and Federal markets to the extent of say 10 per cent., over and above whatever the domestic tariff might be.

Thus Colonial wines, spirits, butter, bacon, canned meats, preserved fruits and fish, &c, would have a preference in British and domestic markets against foreign goods of a like description, while England would have a similar preference in the home and Federal markets for all her manufactured goods.

It will be seen that the principal upon which this commercial union is based, is:—First:—Free trade in the raw products, which enables all new countries to prosper and stocks the old country with that which she cannot sufficiently produce. Secondly:—A sufficient tariff upon manufactured goods to assist in raising the necessary revenues, and afford a reasonable encouragement and stability to manufacturing industries, which enables old countries to prosper in that which they have to dispose of, viz.:—Labour; and supply new countries with those things which they are short of—the results of skilled labour—goods manufactured. Thirdly:—To recognise, defend and promote the Imperial and common interests of the Empire.

It is to be understood that while the principles are here laid down for a political and commercial union, there is no hard and fast line as to numbers and exact amounts, which may vary as times and circumstances change, and must be dealt with in the combined wisdom of the Imperial Parliament according to the new order of things; especially in the requisite amount of tariffs. After a year or two of practical experience, when trade will have adjusted itself to the new system, and it is seen the minimum amount of tariffs required for revenues, the question could be more definitely settled.

As previously stated, other nations could be admitted to the Customs Union of the Imperial Federation whenever they assimilated their customs and tariffs to ours. It should always be an aim of the Federation to encourage other countries to join our Commercial Union, reduce tariffs to the lowest figure, and promote free trade. And with a view to carrying into effect the purposes of this Federation, all existing tariff treaties with foreign nations should be terminated as early as possible, with a notification of the intention and objects of this Imperial Federation upon the lines herein set forth; with an

invitation to all, or as many as are favourably disposed, to join our Commercial Union and first adopt free trade in raw products; and at whatever rate they were prepared to admit our manufactured goods into their countries, our tariff upon theirs to be the same. In this manner foreign nations would be forced to abolish their tariffs upon all British and Colonial raw products, which would be of immense benefit to all our raw producing countries; and also to get their manufactured goods upon the British and Colonial markets at a fair rate of tariff, they would be forced to lower their tariffs on our manufactured goods accordingly. Differential rebates and drawbacks of duties to level up between members of the Federal Union, are not resorted to in this scheme. Such systems of compensations are open to abuses, and are always inconvenient, expensive and cumberous in administration. Therefore, straight lines of principles, upon a medium popular policy, for practical and general application, are recommended.

It is to be understood, that in agreeing to allow the Colonies and India to tariff British manufactured goods to the extent of 10 per cent if required, as an expediency for raising revenue only, it shall always be their aim to reduce that tariff upon domestic trade within the Empire, and educate their people to raise their revenues more by direct taxation, as in the United Kingdom, upon accumulated wealth, luxuries, &c.; and so by degrees emancipate their British trade entirely.

DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE.

Having arranged and stated the political and commercial basis of Imperial Federation, upon well-known economic and popular lines, and constitutional principles, it now remains to point out the best means of preserving and defending the interests and territories of these vast domains in the most efficient and economical manner. The volunteer system for military training for defences at home and abroad, is undoubtedly the wisest and most popular, reliable and economical systematic movement of modern times, and should be encouraged and more fully developed in every particular, with no stinted means of support.

Turning to the navy, which is the right arm of British protection, it should be equal to the combined navies of the rest of the world, with a large proportion of swift sea-going fighting cruisers. This is obvious from the fact that British maritime commerce is equal to that of all the rest of the world, and is distributed all over the face of the globe. The basis of support and contribution to this service is set forth and explained in the early and political part of this essay or scheme.

In connection with the question of a comparatively invincible British navy, must be considered the personnel of the officers and seamen in command of the same, which should be essentially British, and of the best type, in sufficient numbers to man the whole navy at any time, upon the shortest requisite notice. Therefore, in order to have always available these necessary auxilliary forces, the Royal Naval Reserves should be recruited and kept up in the most liberal and popular manner.

Second only in importance to the navy itself for the defences of this world-wide Empire and its maritime interests, is the possession of

coaling stations, and good harbours, well fortified; naval depots, well supplied with all requisite stores, all over the world. So that the great British navy shall not be a mythical power, like the proverbial Dutchman's anchor, stowed away at home when wanted; but shall be in evidence as a naval power all over the world, practically in command of the sea. We have the ships, we have the men, and we have the money too! Therefore, let it be manifested for the protection of British interests, and the preservation of the peace of the world.

PACIFIC CABLE.

Intimately connected with the political, commercial and defensive aspects of Imperial Federation, is the question of cable connections, and swift mail services between the United Kingdom and all the colonies. This is obvious in peaceful times for the promotion of commercial and social intercourse and trade, but it is of vital importance that there should be safe and rapid means of communication between the seat of power and the distant parts of the Imperial circle in troublous times and times of war.

The present means of cabling to Australasia is through the Eastern Extension Company, which is very expensive, nine shillings per word, and it is a notorious and deplorable fact that the existing lines of telegraph from England to India, South Africa and Australia pass over the territory of foreign powers, and might be cut off or interfered with. Imagine a hostile fleet ravaging, capturing, and destroying harbours and cities in those distant and isolated colonies; the telegraphic communication cut off, and the British government ignorant of the fact for weeks or even months, until the arrival of mails. One such disastrous delay would cost more than half-a-dozen independant cables from Vancouver to Australia, besides national ignominy consequent upon such a disaster. For, if England was at war with a powerful naval adversary, it would not be the Thames, nor London, that would be attacked, but the most distant outlying wealthy colonies, the vulnerable points of the Empire.

There appears to be a misconception in regard to the neutrality of telegraphic cables in time of war, but it is stated on page 115, Colonial Conference, by a quotation from a paper upon the subject, dated 5th July, 1893, by Mr. J. C. Lamb, of the Imperial Post Office, as follows: "The only international convention relating to the protection of submarine cables is that which was made at Paris, 14th March, 1884, and if reference be made to the copy of the convention annexed to the Submarine Telegraph Act, 48 and 49 Vic. ch. 49, it will be seen that it contained no provision for the neutrality of cables."

At the Colonial Conference, the utmost importance was attached to the establishing of telegraphic communication by cable between Vancouver and Australasia across the Pacific, touching only at two or three British Islands on the road, so that the cable would be entirely on British territory at the termini. Various routes in that direction were discussed, and the whole subject treated upon with great ability and the utmost candour. We cannot do better than consider the final conclusions which were arrived at, and the resolutions which were passed. Without going into details, the round conclusions

were, that the project should be pushed on without delay and the necessary surveys and reports made forthwith. That the distance is about 7000 nautical miles, more or less, according to the route taken; the cost about two millions sterling, which for obvious and cogent reasons, should be borne equally by the respective governments of the United Kingdom, Canada and Australasia; and that for the same reasons the cable should be extended from Australasia to the Cape of Good Hope, to which of course the Cape government would contribute. Also some revenue and commercial advantages might be derived from having a branch off the Pacific cable, say from Fanning Island to Honolulu.

As the object of this essay is to find true data and arrive at sound conclusions, we must here refer to the resolutions passed at the conference at Ottawa, and any other data found there, or elsewhere, bearing upon the matter before us.

At a conference held in London in 1888, the following resolutions were passed:—"That the connection recently formed through Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific by railway and telegraph, opens a new and alternative line of Imperial connection over the high seas and through British possessions, which promises to be one of great value alike in naval, military, commercial and political aspects." Also:—"That the connection of Canada with Australasia by direct submarine telegraph across the Pacific is a project of high importance to the Empire, and every doubt as to its practicability should, without delay, be set at rest by a thorough and exhaustive survey."

This very urgent appeal elicited the following reply from Her Majesty's Government:—"Unless the Secretary of State has reason to believe that a submarine cable is likely to be laid from Vancouver to Australia very shortly, their Lordships would not propose to despatch a surveying vessel for the sole purpose of obtaining soundings over the route, but they will endeavour to arrange that soundings should be gradually obtained during the next few years in the ordinary course of hydrographic surveys."

At the conference in Ottawa, July 1894, it was stated that up to that date, they were without any authentic report of survey over the proposed routes, but at the same time there was no cause whatever to apprehend the existence of any submarine difficulties at the bed of the Pacific Ocean. The depths are stated to be about 3000 fathoms, about equal to, or a trifle deeper than the depths of the North Atlantic between England and America. After lengthy discussions the following resolutions were passed at that time in Ottawa, page 177:—"That in the opinion of this conference, immediate steps should be taken to provide telegraphic communications by cable, free from foreign control, between the Dominion of Canada and Australasia." Also pages 186 to 189, the following resolution passed:—"That the Imperial Government be respectfully requested to undertake at the earliest possible moment, and to prosecute with all possible speed, a thorough survey of the proposed cable route between Canada and Australia; the expense to be borne in equal proportions by Great Britain, Canada, and the Australasian Colonies."

Also on the 19th Nov. 1895, the Right Hon. Mr Chamberlain, Secretary for the Colonies, received a deputation from the Agents

General for the Colonies, when the scheme was discussed for the laying of the proposed cable connecting Canada with Australasia; thus giving quicker and cheaper communication between England and her principal colonies. Mr. Chamberlain said "That such a meeting was in a sense, a meeting of the Council of the Empire, brought together for the purpose of common interests, and that the presence of representatives of the Cape and Natal, which were not concerned with the project in its present form, was evidence of its solidarity and sympathy. He expressed the opinion that the project showed very fair prospect of remunerative return, and intimated his willingness to join the formation of a Joint Commission which should report on the subject. It was arranged that the Colonial representatives should be named by the Colonial Governments and appointed by the Imperial Government, and that the respective governments should be approached on the matter."

CABLE EXTENSION TO THE CAPE.

At the Colonial Conference at Ottawa, 1895, it was moved and carried, pages 189 to 190:—"That it is for the interest of the Empire, that in case of the construction of a cable between Canada and Australasia, such cable should be extended from Australasia to the Cape of Good Hope; and that, for that purpose, arrangements should be made between the Imperial and South African Governments for a survey of the latter route."

As to Hawaiian interests, it is stated on page 118, that during the year 1893, 12,000 passengers, 13 ships of war and 310 merchant vessels visited there, and the inference is, that if there was a cable communication, it would be greatly used and add considerably to the revenue of the concern. But as Hawaii is practically under foreign control, it could hardly be considered a safe station in the event of war, especially with the United States; therefore, to carry out the project of having a cable entirely under British control, it would seem necessary to tap Honolulu with a short branch from one of the adjacent Islands to be placed under British control for that purpose, or else let Hawaii get up its own company and tap the British cable at Fanning Island upon the best terms it can make. In any case, each of those stations in the Pacific would need to be defended in the event of war, and would become, more or less, places of rendezvous, to hear the news, receive orders and various purposes; therefore, every station of the cable should be suitable for, and made into a naval station. That should be a *sine qua non* with the Imperial government. It may also be stated that early in 1894, at a conference of Colonial delegates at Wellington, a very lengthy resolution was passed, urging the construction of a Pacific cable, their respective governments to guarantee 4 per cent interest upon the Capital of £1,800,000; cost of ordinary messages to be not more than three shillings per word, also suggesting two alternative routes.

Therefore, seeing that there has been such a consensus of opinion, so recently and repeatedly expressed by representative bodies, urging the utility and necessity of such cable for Imperial and commercial purposes, it does seem strange that the Imperial Government has not hitherto been induced to take a more practical interest in the project.

And anything which may be said or done to stir up a more lively interest and sense of duty in this matter is surely doing a national service.

Notwithstanding whatever may have been said to the contrary, it has been urged by high authorities, that a British line of communication independent of foreign control is indispensable for the defence and safety of our southern Colonial Empire. General Lord Wolsey, General Herbert, and others, both naval and military, have so expressed their opinions ; see page 301 Colonial Conference.

It is also stated upon reliable authority that unless the British cable is proceeded with very promptly, France and the United States are under certain preliminary arrangements, intending to carry out a similar project, which would greatly injure the prospects of a British cable.

There was also abundant proofs and data elicited at the Colonial Conference showing that a direct Pacific cable would pay commercially ; see appendix of report.

Therefore, seeing that there are so many urgent and cogent reasons for Imperial and commercial purposes why the Pacific cable should be laid under British control, we must here recommend it as an adjunct to this scheme of Imperial Federation, if not earlier proceeded with ; the exact route, ways and means, and other details to be mutually agreed upon by the governments interested. It is stated in the press that Sir Geo. Baden Powell has two notices of motion upon the paper of the House of Commons for next session. The first is to call attention to the urgency for strategic and commercial purposes of instituting and working telegraphic cable communication from British Columbia across the Pacific Ocean ; and to move a resolution. And the second, to call attention to the urgency for strategic and commercial purposes, of instituting mail communication by rapid steamship service between the Canadian Dominion and the Australasian Colonies. This shows the tendency of public interest upon the subject in this country, which undoubtedly will ripen into action.

FAST MAIL SERVICE.

Having dealt with the question of a Pacific cable, we now come to the consideration of quick mail service between the United Kingdom and Australasia, via Canada, crossing the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans ; an Imperial Federal service, upon similar lines and principles as advocated for the Pacific cable. It may be argued that for strategic and defensive purposes there is not the same necessity for fast steamers as there would be for a clear and reliable cable communication in the event of war ; that fast steamers for mails or transport service are already at the disposal of the British Government, and others could be hired quickly for any purposes that they might be required ; whereas, it would be impracticable to so quickly construct and lay a telegraph cable of such enormous length, so far away. While admitting all the force that such an argument possesses, it must be borne in mind that war, although of the utmost vital importance in itself, and should be provided for incontestably, yet it is a very remote contingency, and must be weighed accordingly in

comparison with the many vigorous operations in all the ramifications of progressive national life.

For instance, while it is admitted that forts, citadels, and other defences, are necessary for the protection of harbours and cities, it is not for a moment disputed that good roads, highways and thoroughfares are essential to national life and progress, and to ensure a high state of efficiency, must be kept up at public expense.

As a matter of fact, every great maritime nation does subsidise and assist, in one way or another, some great leading lines for mails and passenger service. Taking it then as an axiom that mail services and highways for the travelling public, both on land and sea, must be kept up to the highest state of efficiency, even at the public expense, the solution of the question of an improved mail and passenger service on the Canadian Pacific route, or elsewhere, becomes easy. At the present time Australia and New Zealand appear to be served in a manner by six steam lines, such as they are, viz. :—The P. & O., the Orient, the Queensland Company, the San Francisco route, two direct boats from New Zealand, and the Canadian Pacific line from New South Wales to Vancouver.

It is this latter route that the Conference at Ottawa last year proposed to develop and improve to a first-class service, entirely in British ships and on British soil. The route to be from England to Halifax in winter, and Quebec in summer, thence by the Pacific Canadian Railway to Vancouver, thence to Sydney, and a port in New Zealand to be arranged, and probably touching at Honolulu and Fiji. It is said that the present line on that route is insufficient, and does not carry out the views of those who aim at having a quick, reliable mail and passenger service to London.

The time now occupied for mails from the Australasian colonies to London appears to be about 34 days ; it is stated that this could be reduced to 31 days or less by the proposed swift line on the Canadian Pacific route.

For the purpose of carrying out this project on a comprehensive scale, it is proposed to build four 20 knot steamers for the Atlantic service to run weekly, and five similar boats for the Pacific service to run fortnightly. The cost of the nine steamers is estimated at £3,000,000, and a subsidy required of £300,000 per annum for ten years ; to be contributed in the following manner : Canada as likely to derive the most trade benefit, to pay half, say £150,000, towards the Atlantic service, and £25,000 towards the Pacific service ; Australasia together pay £50,000 to the Pacific ; England to pay £75,000 upon the whole service.

After fully discussing the subject, the Conference passed the following resolution, pages 286 to 300 :—“ Resolved that this Conference expresses its cordial approval of the successful efforts put forth by Canada and New South Wales for the establishment of a regular monthly steamship service between Vancouver and Sydney, and affirms the advisability of a reasonable co-operation of all the colonies interested in securing the improvement and permanency of the same.”

Second, “That the conference learns with interest of the steps now being taken by Canada to secure a first-class fast mail and

passenger service with all the modern appliances for the storage and carrying of perishable goods across the Atlantic to Great Britain and the large subsidy which she has offered to procure its establishment."

Third, "That it regards such an uninterrupted through line of swift and superior communication between Australasia and Great Britain, as is above contemplated, as of paramount importance to the development of inter-colonial trade and communication, and to the unity and stability of the Empire as a whole."

Fourth, "That as the Imperial Post Office contributes towards the cost of the Mail Services between England and Australia, via Brindisa or Naples, the sum of £95,000 per annum, while the sea postage amounts only to £3,000, and the Mail Service between Vancouver and Japan and China £45,000, less £7,300 charged against the Admiralty, this conference deems it but reasonable to respectfully ask that assistance be given by the Imperial Government to the fast Atlantic service, more particularly as the British Post Office, while paying the large subsidy of £104,231 a year to the line from Liverpool to New York, has so far rendered no assistance to the maintenance of the postal line between Great Britain and Canada."

Now having seen what the Colonial Conference said at Ottawa by a general resolution, we will look to the far end of the line and see what they are willing to do there. It was reported in the public press in September 1895, a few weeks ago, that in the course of his budget statement, the New Zealand treasurer, the Hon. Mr. Ward, referred to this scheme. He said:—"To enable the trade between Canada and New Zealand to be successfully carried on, it is advisable that regular steam communication between the two countries should be established. With this view an agreement between the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company and the Government will be submitted to the House for approval. The line of steamers at present running between Canada and Australia, is subsidised for a period of about eight years by the Canadian Government, and also for a shorter period by the New South Wales Government. It is proposed that the line of steamers should run either to Auckland or Wellington, and in return for a monthly service to be conducted with a view to necessary expedition and accommodation, touching at Fiji and Honolulu, to give to the company a subsidy of £20,000 per annum for a period of years to be fixed, &c."

Again the following cable despatch appeared in the press about 1st Nov. 1895:—"In the New Zealand House of Representatives, to-day, the agreement entered into between the Treasurer of New Zealand and Mr. Huddart for a mail service every four weeks between New Zealand and Vancouver, was laid on the table for ratification as to the amount of the subsidy to be paid. If either Wellington or Auckland be decided upon as the terminal port of the line, a subsidy of £30,000 a year will be paid, but if on the other hand it be decided to have the terminal port in Australia, the subsidy will only amount to £20,000 a year."

Now therefore, with these data and opinions before us from such high authorities, it is obvious:—First, that the Atlantic mail and passenger service between England and Canada is unsatisfactory. Second, that the Pacific mail and passenger service between Canada and Australasia is insufficient. Third, that the route is practicable as

a whole. Fourth, that it ought to be made into a first-class service, second to none afloat. Fifth, that from an Imperial stand-point, it is a grand and worthy object, and should be liberally supported and permanently established.

Firstly:—It may truly be said that during the last 20 years, while the service has been greatly improved on the New York route, and the speed increased from 14 to 21 knots per hour, the service on the Canadian route has retrograded, and as a matter of fact, it is no better now than it was thirty years ago and in comparison with the New York lines, is miserably deficient in speed, fare and accommodation. Consequently it has ceased to be a first-class route of travel for the American passenger trade, or even for the Canadians themselves.

It is no proof of efficiency to say that there are still a great many passengers travelling by the Canadian lines; because of necessity they must travel by any convenient boat to their destination, and would still go that way even if the boats were not nearly so good as what they are. Twenty and thirty years ago, the chief Canadian line was equal to anything afloat, and competed well with the New York lines for Western travellers, many Americans choosing the Canadian route in preference during the summer months, on account of the cooler atmosphere, the beautiful and historic scenery of the St. Lawrence, Quebec, and Montreal, also shorter railway journey to Western States.

Secondly, that the mail and passenger service on the Pacific between Canada and Australasia is insufficient is obvious from the fact that nearly all the mails and passengers from New Zealand now go by the San Francisco line, which would be diverted to the Canadian route if the line was made attractive and sufficient.

Thirdly, that the Canadian Pacific route is practicable as a whole is obvious from the statistical records, showing that an enormous amount of tonnage, sail and steam, navigate the St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal, from the 1st of May to the end of November, every year, with great regularity and success; and during the winter months Halifax, a great naval station and excellent harbour, easy of access, is open all the year round. It is also the terminus of the Pacific Railway route on the Atlantic board. The approaches to Halifax and the St. Lawrence could also be improved by having powerful lightships and fog signals stationed off and along the coast at leading points. The Straits of Belle Isle should seldom, if ever, be used, the broad southern route by St. Paul's is safer, and should be used by those large swift boats that are proposed. The great object is to have clear water, and for that purpose the safest route should be chosen, then those speedy boats will make their time. A few miles extra distance is no object with them, provided they can keep up their speed.

In the early days of the Allan Line they had many disasters, but after 1865, when the better rules and regulations were adopted, with stricter discipline, the route became as safe and popular as the New York route for about fifteen years, until the greyhounds of the Atlantic came into existence upon the New York route, since which, the New York lines have vied with each other in size, speed, and excellence, until the Canadian boats have been eclipsed, their lines outstripped and left in the shade, and the route cried down and neglected. But for all

that there are some natural advantages with the Halifax-Quebec route. The Pacific Ocean with its calm blue waters studded with islands covered with tropical fruits, is waiting impatient to welcome and embrace these magnificent steamers upon its bosom, and launch them with Atlantic speed, with their northern and eastern commerce, to the southernmost bounds of the Imperial Empire, into a new and Antipodean World.

Fourthly, that it ought to be made into a first-class service second to none, is proven by the fact that when it was equal to the New York route on the Atlantic it competed successfully for a share of the western passenger trade, and only fell in the rear when the New York boats became superior in size and speed, and were better assisted by subsidies. The New York lines get about £104,000 yearly from the British Government, whereas the Canadian lines are said to receive nothing from the British, and only about £26,000 from the Canadian Government.

Fifthly, that from an Imperial standpoint it is a grand and worthy object and should be liberally supported and permanently established, is shown by the arguments adduced, that every civilised country provides roads, highways and thoroughfares on the land for the general safety, commerce and convenience of the public, at the public expense; and also, every maritime nation has recognised the same principle as applying to the sea, by subsidising mail and passenger services of superior steamers, thus securing a regular and safe means of sea travelling and communication. And as it has been shown that the route is safe, expeditious, and good, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, and also the Canadian Pacific Railway from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, being one of the most substantial and best lines in the world, it is obvious that it has become a national policy and an imperial duty to assist liberally, and see established as early as possible on a large, efficient and comprehensive scale, such a service of twin-screw swift steamers as shall settle permanently that the British Canadian Pacific route to America and Australasia is the quickest and safest route in the world.

The objects are, easy and swift means of communication and travel, the development of emigration, trade, and commercial intercourse with the Colonies, and ensuring quick and uninterrupted means of transit on British soil and lines for the defences of the Empire.

For the above objects and purposes the steamship service should be established in no niggardly and cheeseparing spirit. There should be a weekly service on the Atlantic, and a fortnightly service on the Pacific. Say four steamers for the Atlantic, twin screw, 22 knot speed, about 8,000 tons gross, with as light a draft as may be, and fitted for large passenger accommodation, and cold stores for meat. The object is not to have great cargo carriers, but the best and swiftest kind of mail and passenger boats, with some space available for light freight and dead meat. The cargo carrying trade of the world is competitive, and it would be wrong to subsidise boats for cargo beyond the purposes of establishing mail and passenger services of the very best description.

It is a mistake to attempt to combine huge cargo boats with swift mail service. One is for open competition, the other is subsidised out of public money for the convenience of the public, and imperial defen-

sive purposes. But, of course, there would be some available spaces which should be utilised in carrying such goods as require quick transit, and can pay the best rates of freight, which is required to help pay running expenses.

And for the Pacific service, the same description of boats would be required as those for the Atlantic ; fully as large and swift, because in the great stretch of the Pacific Ocean, their speed could be fully utilised to the best advantage, and with such boats the time could be reduced to about 28 days from London to Australia, and perhaps less. To run a fortnightly service of this kind, it would require four boats to make the time, and one for a stand-by, to keep the line in a thoroughly efficient state of repair. That would be four boats on the Atlantic, and five on the Pacific.

As to the details of the route and cost of construction, these cannot be settled in an essay of this kind, but will require the united wisdom and efforts of statesmen, financiers and practical men. The question of subsidies may, however, be here discussed. We see that it is right to keep up highways for public purposes on land and sea at some public expense. We have seen in recent years that spirit developing in other nations ; America, Germany and France increasing their subsidies and establishing lines of ocean highways. We also see in the development of speed, that the mail and passenger service is every year becoming more separated and distinct from the common cargo services. Therefore, to be abreast of the times, and fully utilise the advantages of science in the development and defences of the resources and domains of the Empire, such a magnificent and important line of ocean highway should be constructed and established upon the safest and most advanced principles, and should be endowed accordingly.

What is a hundred thousand pounds, or even double that amount, per annum, to the United Kingdom, in consideration for the benefits that would accrue ? Think of opening up the new countries, bringing those distant lands to the very doors of the mother country, making outlets easy for the crowded populations, affording prospects for the millions, in extending and developing trade in all the ramifications of commercial industries, and binding together the colonies and the mother country in unity of interests, which is essential for the permanent union and stability of the Empire.

Besides, to begin with, the whole fleet of nine steamers would be built and equipped in the United Kingdom, spending about three millions sterling amongst the shipbuilders and tradesmen of the country.

The colonies should have every encouragement in their vigorous undertaking to establish such a useful and magnificent line, and to ensure it being carried out in an adequate manner on high principles of Imperial policy, the British Government should at once signify their intention to grant a subsidy of £100,000 to the Atlantic service, and £100,000 to the Pacific service for a period of ten years, at the end of which, the matter to be further considered, always with a view to the permanency of the line.

In bringing this Essay to a conclusion, let us glance at the Imperial Edifice thus erected. Behold then, this world-wide Empire, embrac-

ing nearly a third of the inhabitants of the world, under the most enlightened forms of Christian Popular Government ; bound together by the strongest ties of humanity and power, enjoying individual freedom and Imperial citizenship of the greatest Empire in the world ; wielding a power, the greatest on earth for peace and goodwill amongst all nations.

With her swift steamers and vast fleets of commerce running to and fro over the surface of the globe, bringing the riches of the world to the United Kingdom, the centre of systems ; and her educated and scientific sons and daughters radiating to the uttermost bounds of the Imperial circle, enlightening and captivating the world ; whilst millions upon millions of fellow subjects, proud of their British connections join with heart and voice to shout and sing : —

“God Save the Queen!”

“NUMBER SEVENTEEN.”

E. B. HATFIELD.



SUMMARY.

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- 1—Introductory Title.
- 3—Statistics of population of United Kingdom, Canada, Australasia, Cape, British India, &c., in round numbers, about 380,000,000, of which the British dominant race are about 50,000,000.
- 4—Evident necessity of Imperial Federation.
 - Two great political courses open to this country.
 - The issues of life and death.
 - Terms upon which other nations to be admitted.
 - Moral and material effect for peace and good will upon the world.
- 5—Reverse of Imperial Federation; the issues of death, or national decay.
 - Political Imperial Organisation.
 - Monarchy; the Crowned Head of our system.
- 6—House of Lords, creation of Colonial and Indian Lords, their titles for life only, salary, &c.
 - Imperial Parliament, House of Commons, Indian and Colonial Representatives, how to be elected and paid.
 - Local Governments are not to be disturbed.
 - Offices of High Commissioners and Agents General for Colonies to be abolished
 - Office of Colonial Secretary to be modified.
 - The Great Offices of State and Seats of Office to be held as at present.
 - The Vice-royalty of Ireland to be abolished, and the Sovereign to hold court there
- 7—Importance of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament.
 - Defining matters of Imperial interests, including control of Army and Navy, and Consular services; their maintenance, and how the proportions of contributions are to be arrived at with India and the Colonies.
 - The Crown to have an additional grant and title to confirm and embrace the new order of things.
 - The following title is suggested:—"Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and Imperial Sovereign of the British and Colonial Empire."
 - The Imperial Parliament and Lords, with Colonial and Indian representation, are to have control of the Finances relating to the Army and Navy, and all Forces and Services appertaining to Imperial welfare, including the maintenance of the Crown, for which they shall have the power to raise money from their respective peoples, in such manner as they shall deem most equitable and convenient.
 - Particular interests, and practicability of the Union from a commercial standpoint.
- 8—A standing committee of trade to be appointed, including all the Indian and Colonial members of the Imperial Parliament, with an equal number of able representatives of the United Kingdom, to consider and prepare matters of commercial interests for legislation.
 - The safety of Imperial and British interests is secured by the preponderance of British members in the Imperial Parliament.

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- 8 The Colonial Conference at Ottawa, in 1894, was such an important event and practical step towards Imperial Federation, that the composition of it and names of the delegates are stated; their opinions and data cited as authoritative and useful.
- 9 Resolutions passed at the Conference relating to trade on a more favourable footing within the Empire than with foreigners.
It is the duty of the Mother Country to carry into effect the noble aspirations of the Colonies for Imperial Unity.
Absolute free trade appears to be impracticable in the initial stages of Federal life
- 10 Foreign countries to be allowed free trade within the Federation in proportion as they lowered and abolished their duties on our goods and products
Statistics of trade showing proportions of foreign trade, and Lord Jersey's statement in reference thereto.
- 11 Colonial sentiments expressed by delegates at the Conference.
- 12 Tables of statistics:—Population, imports, exports, customs revenue, debts, percentage of duties on total imports.
- 13 Total trade of the Colonies and India and their relative proportions.
Statement of general lines of policy as a basis of customs tariffs in Federal Union
- 14 England requires raw products free, and tariffs upon manufactured goods.
- 15 Australian Colonies are shown to be able to compete with France or any other country in producing wines and spirits.
- 16 Distinction between raw and manufactured articles of trade, examples.
The mother country is to preserve her free trade with all the world in raw products, and free trade in manufactured goods with all within the Imperial circle, but impose a tariff of 10 per cent on all manufactured goods from foreign countries.
The Colonies and India require tariffs for revenue purposes, therefore, they are to be allowed to impose a tariff to the extent of 10 per cent *ad-valorem* on goods manufactured and traded within the Imperial circle; but at the same time they must impose a tariff of 10 per cent. *ad-valorem* over and above the domestic tariff, whatever that may be, upon all "*Foreign*" manufactured goods imported; and as an Imperial policy they are to admit the raw products of all the world free.
- 17 It is to be understood that while principles are here laid down for a political and commercial union, there is no hard and fast line as to quantities and amounts, which must be dealt with in the combined wisdom of the Imperial Parliament, according to circumstances and the new order of things, especially in respect to the amount of tariffs to be levied.
- 18 The Defences of the Empire.
The Volunteer system for military training is the wisest movement of modern times, and should be encouraged and more fully developed in every particular, with no stinted means of support.
Second only to the Navy itself in importance for the defences of the Empire and its Maritime interests, is the possession of coaling stations and good harbours well fortified; Naval depots well supplied with all requisite stores all over the world, so that the British Naval Power shall be in evidence, practically in command of the sea for the peace of the world.
- 19 PACIFIC CABLE: Intimately connected with the political, commercial and defensive aspects of Imperial Federation, is the question of cable connections and swift mail services between the United Kingdom and Colonies.
- 20 Various arguments, data and resolutions upon the subject, and final recommendation to establish the Pacific cable, wholly under British control, as an adjunct to this scheme of Imperial Federation, if not earlier proceeded with.
- 21 The exact route, ways and means and other details to be mutually agreed by the governments interested.
- 22 A fast mail service is required between the United Kingdom and Australasia, via Canada, crossing the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

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23—Arguments, data and resolutions in favour of such swift line, showing that the route is safe and expeditious between England, Halifax and Quebec, and can be made to compete successfully with the New York lines, as it did aforetime from 1865 to 1880 until superior boats were constructed for the New York route, and better subsidies paid to those lines

It is an axiom that mail services and highways for the travelling public on land and sea, must be kept up to the highest state of efficiency, even at public expense. From an Imperial stand-point it is a grand and worthy object, and should be liberably supported and permanently established

26 There should be a weekly service on the Atlantic and a fortnightly service on the Pacific. Say four steamers for the Atlantic, twin screws, 22 knots speed, about 7,500 tons gross register with as light a draft as may be, and fitted for for large passenger accommodation

It is a mistake to attempt to combine huge cargo boats with swift mail service. One is open for competition while the other is subsidised out of public money for the convenience of the public and Imperial purposes. Five steamers would be required for the Pacific service, of the same description as those for the Atlantic, fully as large and swift, by which the time from Australasia to London would be reduced to 28 days, or less

27—For such a service, the British government should at once signify their intention to grant a subsidy of £100,000 to the Atlantic service, and £100,000 to the Pacific, for a period of 10 years, at the end of which, the matter to be further considered, always with a view to the permanency of the line

This Essay and Summary contains about 14,500 words, and is humbly submitted to the judgment of the noble and learned judges.

By their humble servant,

"NUMBER SEVENTEEN."

E. B. HATFIELD.

LIVERPOOL, December, 1897.

NOTE. —The Nom de plume, "Number Seventeen," is a combination of the Divine cycle and number 7, with the secular decimal number of the World, 10.

